1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations.

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buritĺ palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting.

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands.

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value.

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes.

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians.

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that [122] I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife [101] and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Re- [127] search, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize [7] is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. 462 [231]

/13 cont./

231 825 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as [181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation- [538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they 235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the 171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated [262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its [939] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[13]

1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 825 A large Sambioa village is always at the same time a kind of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

235 825 The proud araras perch on the roofs everywhere as constantly alert watchmen, greeting the stranger from afar with their deafening shrieks. The large, dark hyacinth-blue Macrocercus hyacinthinus is characteristic of the ornis of the Araguaia and always represented, furthermore the blue-yellow M. macao, as well as, although rarer, the scarlet M. militaris. Of course, the smaller green species of parrots at all possible age levels are also present.

Ornamental feathers are also provided for them by the herons and storks, as well as by the gleaming white Ardea egretta, the majestic, black-headed giant stork Mycteria jabiru, and the roseate spoonbill (A. cochlearis).

In addition one sees in the most colorful confusion the various species of ducks, grebes, boatbills, ostriches, curassows, etc.

Many of these birds are artificially adorned. Those with white feathers parade about in red paint; small feather tassels are tied to the wings of others (2).

[232]

2. The Karaya also know how to change the color of the birds artificially, in particular making the feathers become yellow-colored. No details concerning the method used for this, however, could be learned.

231 The mammals captured young become extremely tame. They are either suckled by dogs, or the women themselves take them to their breasts. The commonest types of monkeys are Ateles, Cebus, and Hapale species, of rodents capybaras and agoutis. The peccary takes the place of the domestic swine. In the fourth Šambioa village we even saw a full-grown tapir wandering about.

Finally, of the reptiles there are tortoises, lizards, and young alligators. The latter, tied with a cord around the body, lie in the warm pools of the praias.

[452] [340] [415]
[301]
142 291 307 516
142 491 307 516 231 854
341 516

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56./

5: Krause--6 E-5, (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

5: Krause--19 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Javahe

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

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340
148 839 1 5 8 54
148 839 1 5 7 6

Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.

2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

5: Krause--83 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

133
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1. Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
349
361

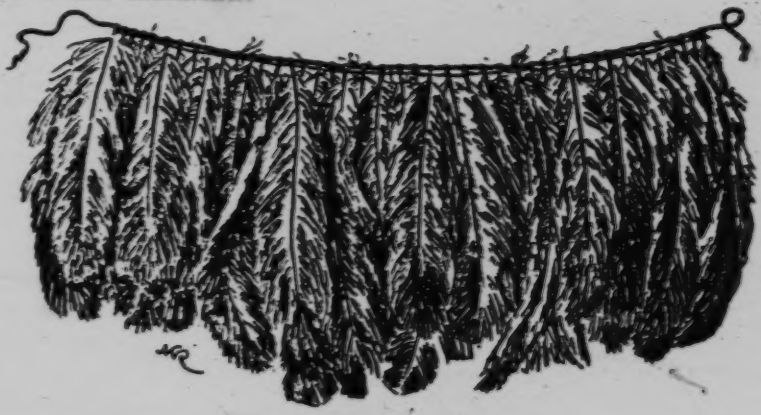
2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/240 cont./

#301 #239 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods, Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.



Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild [231] plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

272 137 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 148]

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places.
/Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ănĭ(k)ĕ], pigs [(ī)šă(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏză), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsi). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kălōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyancinth-blue arara (ăndădōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bĭză: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsă(hă)wĕ, năŭĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lă), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lŏ.č] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 222 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [225] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kŏdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them, the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied (on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks). Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
[225] they undertake in September and October. The turtles themselves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâuĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of the wild bees (bẽdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below; it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut. 353

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiða villages, two dead kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons. 346 [562] 825

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated creatures. These are considered members of the family, and live in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship—with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even 231 825 [538] 231 [237] 235 [197]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

But even

235 these birds are regarded as members of the family, and no
[062] use is made of their flesh, nor even of their eggs. In recent
[237] years, however, the savages have begun to use them as an
231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambiôa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

235 Other birds kept by the Karayá in order to get their feathers to make ornaments, are the military bird, small storks, black-headed giant storks, cranes, the glittering white ardea, the beautiful, pink-feathered spoon bill, various wild ducks such as the canoe beak, rheas, or emus, which are the South American ostrich, and wild chickens. Birds that do not become so much attached to the family that they would not fly away, are held captive by having their wings clipped, or a few feathers plucked out. Many of these birds are decorated artificially. Those having white feathers are dyed red, while others have small bunches of bright feathers attached to their wings.

232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians. 221 226

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 226 136

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a [263] crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive [263] to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiða, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.